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UNITED NATIONS

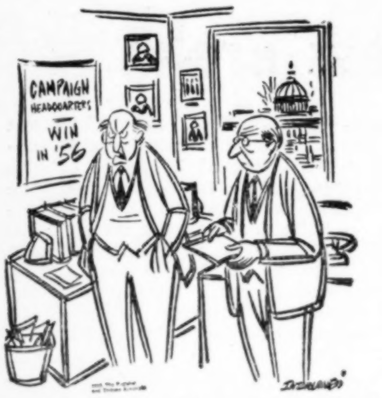
Fate of effective UN hinges on 18 new states; why Spain was swallowed

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

A CRISIS ATMOSPHERE prevailed at UN last week as the General Assembly neared the end of its 10th session. Tension over the crucial question of admitting new members reflected in a growing realization that decision could, in the long run, make or break the world organization.

Momentum behind the drive to admit 18 applicant countries gathered what was called "avalanche proportions" as a 29-nation resolution requesting the Security Council to act favorably on all 18 made its way through the Assembly. Final Assembly vote was: 52 for, 2 (Cuba and Chiang Kai-shek) against, and 5 (U.S., Israel, France, Belgium, Greece) abstaining. That such an overwhelming majority could be mustered behind a project opposed by the U.S. was in itself a landmark in UN history.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Next year's election would be a snap if we could only put the facts before the people . . . and the facts weer in our favor!"

The 18 countries—in order of date of application—are: Albania, Mongolian People's Republic, Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Japan, Laos, Spain. Together they total several hundred millions, roughly a quarter of the countries of the world; they include all applicant countries with no problem of unification (such as Germany does). Their admission would mean UN acceptance of the principle of universality—and therefore cut the ground from under the U.S. stand against China being represented by its rightful government. This is a major reason why the U.S. has opposed universality—admission of all 18—despite tremendous pressure from Japan, Italy, Spain and Latin America. (The U.S. will vote for Western-backed countries, abstain on the others.)

WHY SPAIN: Inclusion of Franco Spain among the Western-backed applicants was a bitter pill even for some Western countries. At San Francisco, in 1945, Spain was barred by a unanimous resolution providing that charter regulations on admission of new members could not be applied

> ". . . to the States whose regimes have been established with the help of military forces belonging to countries which have waged war against the United Nations, as long as those regimes are in power."

Spain was and remains the only country to which this resolution—reaffirmed at Potsdam and at the Assembly's 1946 London session—is applicable. If Franco Spain is admitted, Spanish Republican forces in and out of Spain will have been dealt a heavy blow. But UN delegations long friendly to Republican Spain argued that universality meant just that, that UN could not fulfill its world role as "a holy alliance" or "exclusive club." India's Krishna Menon, explaining his country's present support of Spain's admission, pointed out that

> ". . . the question of new membership arises from the fact that the UN was born at the time of the war, when certain countries had been neutral, and the positions of others had not quite been clarified. . . . Otherwise . . . this Organization would have been founded as a universal organi-

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What will they say a thousand years from now?

When the archaeologists or textilologists of 2055 dig up these arctic parkas, being worn by human members of the 432d U.S. Air Force Fighter-Interceptor Squadron, they will say (if they know their business) that they were designed to help men kill their fellow men with comfort in sub-zero cold. A little disarmament would raise temperatures to normal common sense; but it's hard sledding, as Tabitha Petran points out (left).

TERROR IN THE SOUTH

4th Negro in 7 months murdered in Mississippi as tension grows

By Eugene Gordon

COTTON-GIN owner Elmer Kimbell, 30, with a Negro field hand named John Henry Wilson in the back seat, drove into Lee McGarrh's filling station at Glendora, Miss., just before daybreak on Dec. 3. He ordered his tank filled and charged it. When Clinton Melton, 35-year-old Negro attendant, had finished this job, he told McGarrh: "Mr. Kimbell says he's going to kill me."

"Why?" the startled McGarrh asked. "What did you do to him?" Melton said:

"He asked me what the hell I meant, filling up the tank when he ony wanted $2 worth. I said I was just following your orders. Mr. Kimbell says: 'Suppose I pay by check. Whaddaya think you'll do if it bounces?' I said I only worked here, so it didn't make no difference to me how he paid. Then he called me a 'smart nigger' and said he was going to kill me."

Kimbell kept his word. Last week Clinton Melton, father of five young children, became the fourth Negro to

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THE LEADERS ON THE PLATFORM—AND THE PEOPLE ON THE FLOOR

The merged House of Labor: Where will it go?

By Elmer Bendiner

THERE WERE AT least two possible views of the founding convention of the AFL-CIO. One was a bird's-eye picture of the 1,400 delegates. They were not inspiring in themselves since most dozed or caucused throughout the proceedings and allowed all resolutions to pass unanimously and half-heard. But they represented 15 million U.S. workers under one banner and they were putting those millions on record for greater organization drives, better legislation and safeguards (although less than iron-clad) for civil rights.

The other view was of the dais where the proceedings were briskly gaveled by President George Meany in bright yellow tattersall vest, with a stubby cigar in his mouth. It was heartening that 15 million U.S. workers could get together, but the question was: would they together march down the dangerous road chosen by Meany? Such a course could lead to the unity of the graveyard.

NEVER, NEVER: Before the convention Meany had proposed a "live-and-let-live" pact with big business, pledging his faith in free enterprise, the mutual interests of capital and labor, and the cold war against communism. As soon as the labor convention was over, Meany went to the convention of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers where he said:

> "I never went on strike in my life. I never ran a strike in my life. I never ordered anyone to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line."

He said that "the Wagner Act went too far one way just as I think the Taft-Hartley Act goes too far the other way." The most that labor wanted of management, Meany said, was "understanding." The NAM seemed slow on the up-take. NAM board chairman Charles R. Sligh had prepared a speech in the old manner, viewing labor as a menace. He had no chance to soften it, for it was already unreeling on the teleprompter—the mechanical gadget that allowed for no swift reappraisals. Sligh's speech dampened the peace talks and Meany was driven into a belated defense of the closed shop and labor's political action.

EXIT, RIGHT & LEFT: The raising of labor's voting power was bitterly resented by the NAM and, in a private dinner conversation with Sligh, Meany waved labor's greatest trump card. He said if labor could not work within the two old parties it would be forced to create a "third political party."

On that note Meany and Sligh left the ballroom in opposite directions. The

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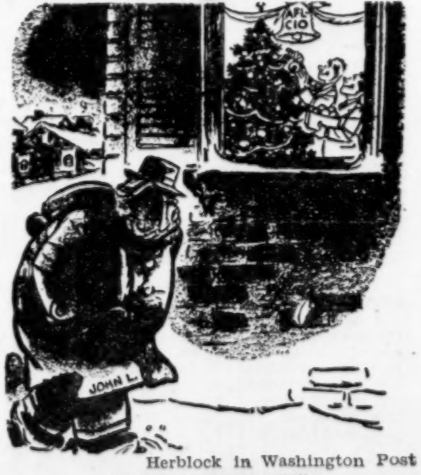

Herblock in Washington Post

"BAH—HUMBUG!"

Renew now with a pledge for '56

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R J

The GUARDIAN needs your sub renewal with extra help if you can offer it. Your pledge NOW of $1 a month throughout 1956 automatically renews your sub and assures much needed help over the rough spots. Pitch in the easy way!

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THE MAIL BAG

Dept. of Miss. Justice

ERWIN, TENN.

Does anybody think that if it were black thugs kidnaping and murdering white 14-year-old boys down there—or a white union man who had committed kidnaping—that Brownell would see any legal bars he couldn't jump?

Ernest Seeman

"So-called"

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.

I propose that whenever you refer to a so-called representative or senator from Mississippi that you refer to him as "the SO-CALLED Representative or Senator from Mississippi" in order to constantly remind your readers that he holds office undemocratically and illegally and by intimidation and murder.

J. Sternbach

. . . And elsewhere

NEW YORK, N.Y.

How about Keufauver for President? Let's see what a Southerner can do about the Jim Crow south!

Ruth M. Hannah

Houses too

VENICE, CALIF.

The Supreme Court decision on schools must be expressed in the community through desegregation in housing. This is particularly true in Los Angeles, where the crowded areas holding minority groups are constantly bursting their boundaries. Each block becomes a battleground in the struggle to gain another foothold—one step further out of the ghetto.

There are only two or three white brokers in Los Angeles who will knowingly sell a home to Negro buyers in an all white section or even block! The majority of white brokers are members of the Real Estate Assn. of Calif. whose code prohibits such sale and does not admit Negro brokers as members.

There are several hundred Negro real estate salesmen and brokers in Los Angeles. They have buyers on waiting lists for every type of house in any location.

The Sentinel ads carry their telephone numbers.

Reader

From the heart

COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO

At the last meeting of the Coeur d'Alene Local of the Idaho Pension Union the body went on record as condemning the brutal lynching of Emmett Till and decried the subsequent freeing of the two white men who so obviously were guilty. A resolution was passed and sent to the Governor of Mississippi.

Opal Brooten

Lo, the poor Heathen

SPOKANE, WASH.

I went to a program of Clay Cooper's at the Coliseum here and heard him talk about educating the Heathen of Africa. I thought, why not educate the White Heathen here in the South? I am referring to the crimes in Mississippi, which is not in Africa or any place else.

Urban M. Krell

The "CRMD's"

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Eugene Gordon's piece on New York's segregated schools sparked many a memory of living with and gunning against the evils that flourish within them. A scourge and a pestilence of these schools is the invention of classes for "Children of Retarded Mental Development." In the school system these are referred to as "CRMD's" by teachers and "goofy classes" by pupils. Hundreds of Negro and Puerto Rican children have been stigmatized with this spurious inferiority rating and thereby condemned to the lowest rungs of the economic ladder.

Since no test has ever been devised that can determine that illusive thing called "intelligence," there should be an end to all IQ testing of children. Some children do learn less rapidly than others for too many reasons to list here. However, it is no longer a secret that segregated and slum living conditions are no spur to learning. This has nothing to do with "mental development." To condemn children to slum conditions, and then to trounce them with the scarlet letters "CRMD," is a concoction of minds that care little for youngsters.

A poignant flashback always recurs when discussing this question. During the last war, a young man came into my classroom and asked, "Do you remember me? I used to be in Miss R's crazy class. Do you know where she is? I want to show her how crazy I am." Dressed in the uniform of the Merchant Marine he showed me government citations for acts of bravery under fire that required alert and trigger-like thinking. He escaped the stigma through a world upheaval.

Alice Citron

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

By voting as a bloc, Houston Negroes are playing into the hands of their critics and are doing themselves more harm than good. Their bloc voting in every local election is a factor to be reckoned with seriously.

Those who opposed the voting franchise for Negroes used as their main argument the claim that Negroes would segregate themselves at the polling places and vote as a bloc, trading their votes for the best promises.

—From the column "Our City," in the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Nov. 23, 1955.

One year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner this week: W. M., Houston. Please include original clipping.

Jaywalker

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

The letter from Belfrage-in-Exile evokes much cause for action but, alas, in my present situation all I can send is one lonesome dollar.

Perhaps if I hadn't gotten a ticket for crossing near the corner instead of on the corner on Thanksgiving, I might have been able to send you more.

Helen Ross

Coke for Cola

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Cola G. Parker, new president of the NAM, who is concerned over the country's "drift toward Marxism," might find reassurance in the parable making the rounds in Brooklyn:

A capitalist cell in Moscow met dutifully each week and planned and worked for a capitalist economy in Russia. They engaged in "mass activity" and published a paper called the Daily Boss.

One day they visited a sympathizer who had always expressed approval of their activities but never joined the group. "Why won't you join us," they asked. He answered, "You know I'm with you all the way. But you must realize your cause is hopeless. You just can't change human nature."

Tate N. Bankas

Party of change

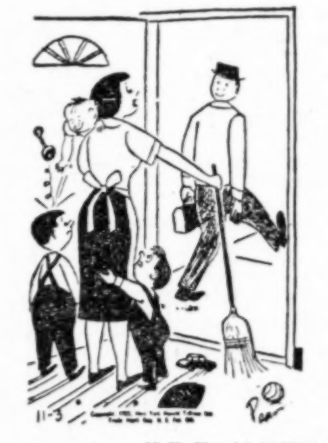
LA CRESCENTA, CALIF.

The need for a party of the type proposed by John T. McManus should now be apparent to every reader of the GUARDIAN. Surely since January the information acquired by followers of the GUARDIAN has demonstrated that we now have a Republocrat Party with an economic policy designed solely to prolong the life of a sick and woefully inefficient form of capitalism, instead of the two-party or multi-party system through which it is possible for the citizens of a democracy to exercise a measure of control over their management.

A party with a program of peace, social change in the direction of socialist or co-operative economy, and direct federal control of credit and currency, would offer an alternative to American voters. At present there is none. The "lesser evil" is subject to the same pressures and must act in the same manner as the "greater evil." The claim that the presentation of a new party must await an opportunity for that party to be elected to power is only a means of postponing indefinitely the labor of organization.

Years ago one of my kinsmen, confronted with an even more difficult political situation, remarked: "It is not necessary to hope in order to persevere." To me, that makes more sense than voting for an acknowledged evil, be it lesser or greater.

Hugh Hardyman



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Mr. Reuther expects a 30-hour week for you men—maybe we housewives should join a union."

George Marion

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

It was with deep sorrow that I read about the death of George Marion. I have all his books and I met him personally in San Francisco. The progressives lost a very valuable and able man.

Gerard Kirk

Pioneer Party

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I read that a third political party has entered the Presidential race, Sen. Langer was chosen to run for President and Burr McClosky for Vice President. The party's name will be the Pioneer Party. Their platform calls for economic reform, return to constitutional government, a golden rule foreign policy, free health service, demilitarization and repudiation of war and conscription. I think this is a very important development and I think you should give it publicity and urge all your readers and progressive elements in this country to get behind this third party and help build it up in every state in the Union.

Max Cossak

Not even milk

GLASGOW, MONT.

We are the ones who wrote we operated a dairy and were rich in milk. Well not any longer. Our herd of brown Swiss and Guernseys have been sold at auction and our modern dairy barn, milking parlor and equipment have been closed down. Charles joined the Carpenters Union and is working in Glasgow, building a new office building. It will be completed by Christmas, and no work is in sight till spring. The GUARDIAN is better than ever and my issue reaches as many readers as possible.

Mrs. Charles W. Cotton

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile*
JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager*
JAMES ARONSON *Executive Editor*

ELMER BENDINER, Politics and The Americas. TABITHA PETRAN, World Analysis. LAWRENCE EMERY, National Affairs. EUGENE GORDON, Negro Affairs and Civil Liberties. KUMAR GOSHAL, World Affairs. ROBERT JOYCE, Art Editor. ROBERT E. LIGHT, Advertising and Buying Service. GEORGE EVANS, Promotion and Circulation. TIBA G. WILLNER, Los Angeles representative. MALVINA REYNOLDS, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley, LAndscape 4-4289, San Francisco-Bay Area representative.

Vol. 8, No. 9 178 DECEMBER 19, 1955

Suspicion is the companion of mean souls, and the bane of all good society.—THOMAS PAINE.

REPORT TO READERS

The press probe

MINUS SENATOR EASTLAND, its white supremacist chairman who was busy making speeches in the South against desegregation, the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Judiciary Committee reopened its inquisition into the N.Y. press Dec. 5-6-7. The hearings were held in executive session at the Federal Building in Foley Square, New York; of 35 witnesses heard, all but a handful were N.Y. **Times** employes. The others included one each from the N.Y. **Post, Daily News, Daily Mirror** and James Aronson and John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN. An undisclosed number of witnesses, including the GUARDIAN men, were held under continuing subpena for public hearings, perhaps next month.

The preponderance of **Times** people called warranted surmises by I. F. Stone's **Weekly** and the N.Y. **Post** that the subcommittee's main aim was to discredit the **Times** in the public eye and at least silence its criticisms of procedures in Congressional witch-hunts and its editorial defenses of the First and Fifth Amendments. The witnesses were the second group from the **Times.** Of the first group, the **Times** earlier fired copy editor Melvin Barnet for using the Fifth Amendment. Of the second group, one man was fired and another forced to resign—even before they testified—because both stated in advance their intention to use the Fifth Amendment.

A "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT" among the N.Y. papers resulted in coverage of the hearings without mention of the names of witnesses (except for the GUARDIAN men who made no objection), although most of them were known to their employers as well as to colleagues assigned to cover the hearings. This was a nicety not observed by the press in previous star-chamber phases of the witch-hunt. However, Walter Winchell broadcast the Sunday following the hearings that 17 of the witnesses had refused to cooperate with the committee. Many who did so used the First Amendment, thus defending the freedom of the press which only one of the employers involved, the N.Y. **Post,** ventured to defend editorially. At GUARDIAN press time, the **Times** had not moved to fire any of its First Amendment users, although it had "advised" some of those called to cooperate with the Committee or the FBI.

THE GUARDIAN WITNESSES constitute a special case. Both are former **Times** staff members—Aronson for two years prior to 1948 for the Sunday **Times** and McManus for 13 years between 1921 and 1937 as "everything from copyboy to movie critic." Like most other witnesses called, the GUARDIAN men were also active in affairs of the Newspaper Guild, CIO. Since 1948 they have been associated in founding and publishing the GUARDIAN.

The questions asked of the GUARDIAN officers indicated the committee's interest in N.Y. **Times** associations, in Newspaper Guild affairs, in Aronson's case in his activities as a SHAEF press officer in postwar Germany, to which he testified fully in 1953 before the McCarthy Committee on Governmental Operations; and in both cases as to affairs of the GUARDIAN.

The GUARDIAN representatives challenged the authority of the committee to inquire into press and trade union activities as well as into personal beliefs and associations. Under the Fifth Amendment they refused to answer many questions as to political beliefs of themselves and others and also all questions relating to the GUARDIAN with one exception: the paper's publication of POW lists during the Korean war. The committee was informed that these names were obtained from English-language publications from China mailed to subscribers in the U.S., including many libraries throughout the country, and available to all newspapers.

THE N.Y. hearings were conducted by Senators Hennings (D-Mo.) and Jenner (R-Ind.). Failure of Eastland to appear was attributed to illness by his colleagues but during the committee's appearance in N.Y. Eastland made two speeches in Mississippi. One was before 2,000 members of White Citizens' Councils, the other on TV, calling the Supreme Court anti-

(Continued on Page 3)

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES: "THERE WILL NEVER BE ENOUGH LIKE HIM"

The Dean of Canterbury: He bears hatred to none

By Cedric Belfrage

CANTERBURY, England

"THIS SUNDAY and next Sunday," said the preacher in the pulpit of Britain's most ancient and beautiful cathedral, "please God, we conclude a series of twelve sermons on points of contact between communism and Christianity—a subject of increasing importance to the world."

HEWLETT JOHNSON, THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY
"If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother . . "

Venerable but robust, the Dean of Canterbury in his white, black and scarlet robes looked and spoke like a prophet who might have stepped from the pages of the Bible. Earlier in the evensong service, the surpliced choir of men and boys had led the congregation of 300-odd in intoning the 46th Psalm: ". . . He maketh wars to cease in all the world." The Dean, preceded by a verger carrying a mace with the arms of Canterbury Cathedral, had moved up the aisle to the lectern to read the lesson from the Epistle of John:

". . . If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

BUT WHAT YOU DO: The faces and demeanor of the congregation—opposite me was a whole pew of uniformed soldiers, and many young couples had brought their children—did not betray the slightest sign that anything out of the ordinary was going on. The preacher told the story of Tolstoy asking Gorky if he believed in God, Gorky saying he didn't, and Tolstoy replying: "You think you don't but you do. It isn't what you say but what you do that matters."

Then, as he talked about the Church in Russia "freed under communism from the old bondage, and enjoying a new lease of life," quotations from Marx and Lenin echoed up through the noble arcades beneath which the murdered Archbishop Thomas a Becket achieved sainthood some 800 years ago. Said the Dean:

"Lenin and Stalin were atheists, but the question for us is what did they put in the place of a false church? The complete individualist who exploits others for his own ends is the real atheist; he cannot love God whom he has not seen. The Communist believes in something greater than himself, something that will triumph: acquisition for the common weal instead of for personal security."

CORRECT: We sang "The Day Thou Gavest, Lord, Is Ended" and, as I left with Mrs. Hewlett Johnson and her and the 82-year-old Dean's two young daughters, two women worshippers smiled at her and chatted about the chilly weather; and a Canterbury businessman (a Fabian Society member, Mrs. Johnson explained) came up and said to her:

"Historically correct, economically correct, and well delivered."

In the 900-year-old Deanery, over coffee and sherry and biscuits after family dinner in the kitchen, we talked till midnight about America, the land Hewlett Johnson may not even fly over in a plane; about children in China, and the planning of spacious new cities in Tadjikistan (which he visited last year) across the Hindu Kush from Afghanistan; and about the contradictions of this England—this Canterbury—by which I have still not stopped being bewildered.

IT IS RIGHT: From the walls of the huge room precariously warmed by a small electric stove, portraits of Canterbury Deans going back into the mists of time looked down between shelves in which Howard Fast, Lenin and Sholokhov nestled among English classics. On side tables were set out piles of Chinese and Soviet picture magazines and presents given to the Dean in many socialist countries, and an album illustrating the presentation to him, in Moscow, of the Stalin Prize.

He said that doing what he was doing, expressing without reserve his convictions about true and false religion, had of course been a struggle; but he did not mind because he knew it was right. The bitterest attacks were when he received the Stalin Prize and when, returning from China three years ago, he spoke about germ warfare, "the evidence of which was overwhelming."

The worst that Church and State authorities can do about it is to give him the silent treatment and, when that is impossible, to make out that he is senile. His present series of sermons — even the fact that he is giving them — is just blacked out around the country, although many thousands have heard them. Actually his mind would impress one as exceptionally clear and alert in a man half his age; and his frequent laughter is that of a youth not yet soured by any disillusion.

KING'S SCHOOL: Meanwhile his relations with the Archbishop and others with whom he works are correct and, on a superficial level (for his views are never discussed), even friendly. He enjoys his arduous functions administering the Cathedral and its properties, to which is attached ex officio the board chairmanship of King's School, occupying part of the cloisters. He regularly presides over the school board meetings but the boys at the school, groups of whom used to drop in for Sunday tea at the Deanery, are now forbidden to go there.

On the school board he sits down with such men as Somerset Maugham and Viscount Montgomery. "It's rather funny," chuckled the Dean; "Montgomery's theme now is, 'It's my duty to fight these atheistic Communists,' but he doesn't seem to want to fight Maugham, who publicly proclaims his atheism." The Dean recalled how in the year of Stalingrad Montgomery questioned him at length as to how he had been so sure the Russians would stand firm. The Dean told him the secret was in their moral strength—a subject in which Montgomery seems unwise to show no further interest.

INNER PEACE: Awakened by the clatter of the King's School boys trooping through the cloister to chapel, beetle-like in their black coats and absurd Neville Chamberlain wing-collars, one descends the spiral stair of the guest-room tower to find the Dean preparing to go to Mattins, breakfast already eaten and his **Times** and **Daily Worker** studied. He disappears toward the Cathedral, stately in his robes and skull-capped against the morning chill; and one stands marveling at the inner strength and peace of this unique dignitary of the church. Marveling at a man of God who has never compromised an inch with the simple but terrifying truth as he believes it is revealed to him, and who for 23 years has filled an office which is no less than the first link in the British Constitution. For it is he who must enthrone, on the Cathedral's historic stone chair dating from the year 1205, the Archbishops of Canterbury, who in turn crown the kings and queens of England.

HATRED TO NONE: He is a man surrounded by many who hate him but few who do not respect him; himself, he bears hatred to none; countless millions around the world love him, and children's faces in the earth's uttermost parts light up at the name of "Canterbury Johnson."

There have been others like him. The Cathedral's stones are worn by the steps of pilgrims who paid homage to the courage of such men against principalities and powers. There will be others; but there will never be enough.

The press probe

(Continued from Page 2)

segregation decision "a monstrous crime" and urging a campaign to "prove" Negroes inferior to whites. Eastland's appearance in N. Y. would undoubtedly have touched off a storm of protest by groups aroused by the lynching of 14-year old Emmett Till and other murders of Negroes in Mississippi in recent months.

The N. Y. **Post** called the committee's activities "crude political blackmail" and, with reference to the N. Y. **Times,** commented that "the newspaper is being told that its public shame can be reduced if it privately persuades its subpenaed employes to 'co-operate.'" The **Post** editorial said it would be

> ". . . tragic if the pressure of this inquisition convinced the **Times** that men who invoke the historic protections of the Bill of Rights are automatically disqualified from future service in our profession."

IN WASHINGTON, I. F. Stone filed suit in Federal District Court to enjoin the Eastland Committee from spending taxpayers' money to subscribe to his newsweekly "for the purpose of operating a "thought police program." He had summonses issued for Eastland and all subcommittee members and functionaries in connection with the action. Earlier Stone had refused a $5 voucher and a sub order from the Committee. His current **Weekly** explained that the sub order and voucher

> ". . . seemed admirably to . . . furnish an occasion for asking the courts to take judicial cognizance of the committee's activities in the newspaper field and to rule on its propriety. . . . It seemed to us a very grave matter for the future of the newspaper profession and of this country to begin to take for granted that a Congressional committee may keep the press under surveillance on one excuse or another, whether to hunt suspected Communists or other radicals. Fundamental liberties would soon be swallowed up in the witchhunt. At each step we would find ourselves sinking further away from the traditional standards of a free society."

Stone's legal action seeks to bar the committee from keeping the press under surveillance and to compel it to produce in court "its unlawfully gathered dossiers on newspapers and newspapermen."

FOR THE MOST PART the press coverage was guarded and wary, as though the publishers who had helped make McCarthy, were not quite sure whether the inquisition was boomeranging right at them.

For its part the GUARDIAN is assuming a policy of alert, and we know our readers will be ready and willing for the resistance, as you were in the Belfrage case, if it appears that the GUARDIAN is again the target. For the big press there was still a lesson to be learned. It was the moral precept first enunciated—and this is a most appropriate season to repeat it—by the Nazarene:

"Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

—THE GUARDIAN

JOHN T. McMANUS
The Guardian is our business

CARROT AND CLUB: PORTRAIT OF A CONTINENT

Africa is straining to be free—and will be

By Kumar Goshal

BRITAIN'S EFFORTS to crush the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya exemplifies the most brutal aspect of colonialism's last ditch fight in Africa. According to official reports (**Reuters,** 10/20), during the last three years British security forces have killed 9,802 Africans, captured 2,009, lost 561 African and 51 European soldiers; 32 white civilians were killed by Africans.

Official reports do not list or describe the oppression and death by violence of civilian Africans. For example, last September four Kenya officers were brought before Magistrate A. C. Harrison. They were charged with beating to death an African, to obtain a confession of theft. Harrison said:

> "No effort was spared to force him to admit his guilt. He was flogged, kicked, handcuffed with his arms between his legs and fastened behind his neck, made to eat earth, pushed into a river, denied food for a period, and was left out at least two nights tied to a pole in [an open] shed . . . with only a roof overhead, and wearing merely a blanket to keep out the cold. He went to his grave in silence."

Yet, on a technicality, Harison sentenced two officers to 18 months in jail for their participation, fined the other two $70 and $28.

HAD TO HAVE A KILL: S. Africa's **New Age** (9/8) reported two other samples of brutality. In one case a member of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, charged with murdering an African woman, was remanded for medical observation; in another, a corporal, who had refused when ordered by his sergeant to kill an African prisoner in cold blood, testified that the sergeant shot the prisoner because "we were the only platoon in the company that had not had a kill."

Last September the Movement for Colonial Freedom in London heard a former British official in E. Africa, Col. Richard Meinertzhagen, call British treatment of the Kikuyu an inexcusable "piece of public misconduct." He condemned the use of "brutal and unjust methods" to crush the Mau Mau rebellion; the 50 executions a month, "many for trivial offenses"; the arrest and detention without charge of many Kikuyu tribesmen; the interning of 250,000 destitute Kikuyu in an already-congested reserve. He said Kikuyu tribesmen ". . . fully endorse the political aims of Mau Mau, namely the restitution of [their] land and ridding themselves of the white man."

POLICE BREAK UP DEMONSTRATION OF 1,000 KIKUYU WOMEN

When 500 Kikuyu men were rounded up in one of the periodic British manhunts in Kenya, the women, many with babies on their backs, demonstrated outside the police station. The police drove them off with switches cut from a nearby wood.

DEVIL'S ISLAND: Britain was sending 11,000 Kenya Africans to isolated "exile settlements," and removing the alleged "hard core" of the 65,000 Africans in jails and detention camps to a Devil's Island in Lake Victoria, surrounded by crocodile-infested waters (**Worldwide Press Service,** 10/13).

A London **New Statesman** correspondent wrote (10/1):

> "Unemployment is rife [among the Kikuyu] . . . compulsory communal labor is now being enforced on many Kikuyu women [who] are forced to work long hours, without payment, leaving their children at home. The increase in infant malnutrition and mortality has developed alarmingly."

Despite the oppression he said,

> ". . . in this atomic age, anti-imperialist movements have discovered a guerrilla form of warfare which can not be finally defeated by military means."

In other parts of Africa the colonial powers are trying to hold by combining minor concessions with repressive legislation.

IN TANGANYIKA—next door to Kenya—the British government, facing increasingly militant action by the Africans, has made vague promises of elections on an extremely limited franchise "within the next few years." It has suggested that many years of "growing pains" remain before Africans can have full franchise. Gov. Sir Edward Twining has urged passage of a bill carrying heavy penalties for persons convicted of "making or publishing statements likely to cause discontent" among Tanganyikans or "to promote ill will between classes or persons," or to provoke strikes in industrial and public service plants. (**N. Y. Times** 11/2).

NORTH AND SOUTH RHODESIA— forming, with Nyasaland, the Central African Fedn.—have passed similar repressive legislation aimed at the popular African Natl. Congress. The government's excuse was that "great and turbulent forces have been unleashed throughout the African continent, requiring strong [government] control during these years of great change."

The few Negro Council members called it "a piece of legislation designed to obtain Nazi control of the people." N. Rhodesia Natl. Congress president Harry Nkumbula said the "discriminating and oppressive" bill would defeat the professed aim of Negro-white peace; some critics of the bill pointed out that it could be used effectively to suppress other political movements finding disfavor with the government.

$210 A YEAR: Among the mine owners in this rich belt, opinions differ about opening up better jobs to African workers, who earn an average of $210 a year, in contrast with the $6,000 average annual earnings of white workers. Although a tentative gesture was made by the mine-owners last September, wage increases for African workers is still strongly opposed for fear of bringing them into the income bracket qualifying voting rights. Another obstacle for the African workers is the white miners' union dominated by white immigrants from S. Africa, who early this year received a $14,000 "sympathy money" donation from the white S. African Mineworkers' Union.

BELGIAN CONGO and Portuguese Africa: John Gunther reported (**York Pa. Gazette and Daily,** 11/1) that Belgium is seeking "to buy off" the prevailing African nationalism and political discontent by offering better wages to African workers while denying them "civil liberties of any kind." Gunther said the Portuguese "readily admit that forced labor exists" in their colonies—and even call it a good thing for its victims who are "poor beyond belief and live like slaves."

But "the pattern is changing" rapidly in Africa, as **Christian Science Monitor** correspondent John Hughes cabled from Tanganyika (11/21). John Gunther agreed; he said:

> "Much of Africa is like Asia before the war—straining to be free. And this is as it should be. People, no matter what the color of their skins, have an unassailable right to be free. Africa is, after all, the Africans' own continent."

FROM THE "HYSTERICAL ERA"

Supreme Court hears argument in test of Brownell-sponsored immunity law

THE CONSTITUTIONALITY of Atty. Gen. Brownell's immunity law, which would destroy the Fifth Amendment's protection of the individual's right not to testify against himself, was argued before the Supreme Court on Dec. 6. Leonard B. Boudin, New York attorney, attacked the law on the general ground that "all immunity statutes are unconstitutional if they compel testimony." But much of the argument, under questioning by the Court, was confined to much narrower issues upon which the Court is most likely to base its decision.

The law, one of many directly sponsored by Brownell, was passed by Congress in 1954 during what Boudin called a "hysterical era." It provides that upon request of the Attorney General a court can order a witness in a "national security" case to answer questions with a promise that he will not be prosecuted for anything he divulges before a court, a Congressional inquiry or a grand jury. Failure to answer after being granted immunity is automatically punished as contempt.

BENTLEY AGAIN: William Ludwig Ullmann, wartime Air Force officer and a Treasury Dept. official, was the first victim of the new statute. One of scores of persons named by informer Elizabeth Bentley as a one-time member of a spy ring, Ullmann first denied her accusation, later invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about his political beliefs or associations. He is appealing a six-month sentence for contempt for still refusing to talk after being granted "immunity." The law has been used only one other time, against Edward J. Fitzgerald, who was also a wartime government employe named by Bentley; his appeal from a six-month sentence for contempt is dependent on the outcome of the Ullmann case.

The American Civil Liberties Union in a statement two days before the Supreme Court hearing said:

> "The ACLU opposed this law when it was first proposed because we believed it was violative of civil liberties, and we are still firmly opposed to it. Our objections are based on the uncertain protection and vague scope of the immunity grant, the self-degradation suffered by witnesses who are required to testify about past activities—which may not be criminal—and that information about communist activities—the main purpose of the law—is already available."

LET'S STOP HERE: Boudin told the Justices:

> "The Court can protect civil liberties by saying, 'here we stop,' by saying that a man cannot convict himself of his own mouth."

He argued that compulsory bargains between prosecution and witness are prohibited by the Fifth Amendment, and he attacked the immunity conferred under the law as "fictitious" because it offers no protection against private and public sanctions, including loss of job and social ostracism.

WILLIAM L. ULLMANN

There was no immunity

Government attorney Charles F. Barber said the Congress' exercised an "allowable judgment" under its constitutional powers when it passed the law and declared that no person has a right to "absolute silence" under the Fifth Amendment. He conceded that the law could be "used as an instrument of tyranny" but that the Supreme Court would never permit it.

The Court itself seemed most concerned over whether the new law violates the constitutional doctrine of the separation of power between the judiciary and the executive branch of the government.

MAJOR POLITICAL STEP

Amnesty in Greece reported in Paris

THE PARIS paper **Liberation** recently reported that the Greek government was granting amnesty to communists "on the condition that they represent no danger to the national security."

Since the civil war thousands have been shot and some 16,000, at least 1,000 of them seriously ill, have been confined in camps rivaling those of the Nazis.

Liberation called the amnesty an act of humanity but also a major political step. On the one hand, said the paper, Greece has been shocked by the attitude of Atlantic Pact nations toward Cyprus, and by the "pogroms" against Greek residents of the "Atlantic power" Turkey. On the other hand it is impressed with the lessening of tensions between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and the approaching bankruptcy of Turkey. Greece may feel it has everything to gain by a lessening of tension with its own neighbors in the Socialist world. An Athens newspaper speaks of a new orientation toward "Atlantic neutralism."

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"LET FANATICISM TAKE ITS CLUB IN HAND AND WRITE . . ."

Arthur Miller and the enemies of the city's kids

FOR A YEAR playwright Arthur Miller had been living with the toughest bunch of kids in New York. While politicians and editors were demanding public whipping posts for "juvenile delinquents" Miller was staying up nights with Youth Board street workers and gang leaders to prevent a bloody war. He, Combined Artists, Inc., and the Youth Board were at work on a film that would hold at least some of the answers to a question that has terrified the nation: Who are the "lost boys" and what drives them to murderous conflict?

The street workers of the Youth Board and the boys themselves were unconcerned with political rumblings against Miller. They wanted their story told. But last week a combination of political corruption, weakness and intimidation by high-powered lobbies threatened the making of the movie.

PROJECT IS APPROVED: New York City had everything to gain from the film: not only a new insight into a problem, made murky by fear, but a 5% royalty in return for only the cooperation of the Youth Board and its stamp of approval. The Board was given the right to step out at any point in the film's production where it might disapprove of the film. On July 21 the Board of Estimate approved the project.

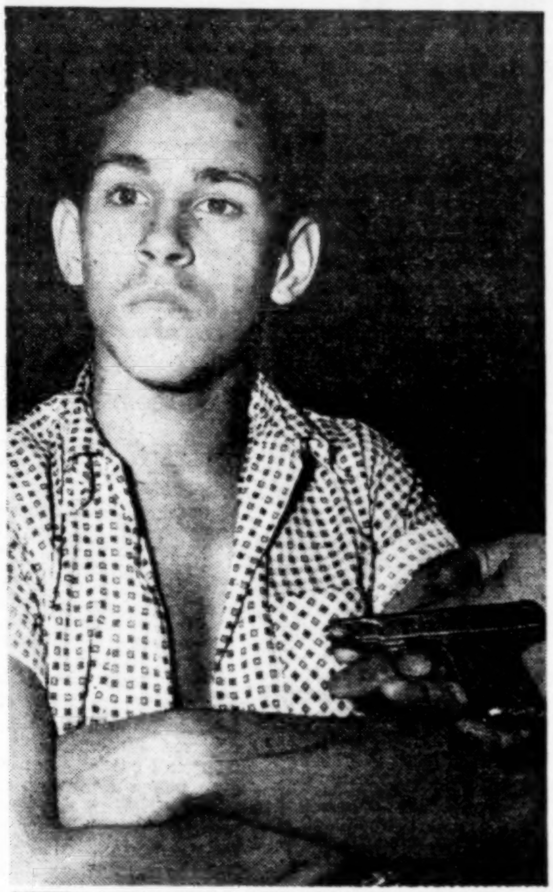
Shortly afterward Frederick Woltman of the N. Y. **World-Telegram & Sun** assailed Miller in a series of articles, finding nothing more damaging than that he had addressed the world peace congress at the Waldorf in 1949. The **World-Telegram** attacked Miller editorially and clamped down so drastic a censorship that, when TV columnist Harriet Van Horne favorably compared Miller to TV writer Paddy Chayevsky, the item was deleted in later editions.

By the end of August Woltman reported that Comptroller Lawrence Gerosa had saved the day by announcing to the Board of Estimate that Miller was to be called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Committee never called Miller but the Board of Estimate held up the final contract.

MAYOR OFF THE HOOK: Mayor Wagner appointed a committee to investigate Miller. When it reported back, the Mayor said the report contained "no derogatory information" but he asked Corporation Counsel Peter Brown to rule on whether the Youth Board was empowered to make the contract on its own.

Political observers saw in the move a device to let the Mayor off the hook. He dared not offend certain powerful liberals pressing for the film and would not defy the witch-hunters out for Miller's scalp. A fix seemed in the making.

The American Legion, the Catholic War Veterans and the blacklisting agency, AWARE, Inc., filed vigorous protests and threatened to picket anywhere the film was shown. Brown ruled that it was up to the Youth Board, but carefully made his pronouncement "off the cuff" so that City Hall could step into the picture again if the Youth Board went ahead.



"WHEN A BOY KILLS, OUR BUILDINGS SHAKE . . ."
Just after an arrest on a shooting charge

"SUB-STRATA SLANTING": The Youth Board had set up a six-member subcommittee to investigate Miller, which had reported 5-1 in favor of the movie. Then American Legion Natl. Commander Wagner flew into town. His ostensible mission was to address the AFL-CIO merger convention, but he came days ahead of schedule, reportedly to lobby against the film.

On Dec. 7, the day the Youth Board was to meet, the **Journal-American** editorially backed the protests of the Legion and the Catholic War Veterans, adding:

> "Again it is not forthright, obvious propaganda we fear; it is subtle, sub-strata slanting toward the left."

The **Daily News** added a business consideration:

> "The American Legion and other patriots are up in arms over the matter—which makes the prospect less than bright for the film's success and an adequate financial return to the Youth Board."

MILLER TALKS BACK: The city commissioners who sit as ex-officio members of the Youth Board and attend meetings by proxy, showed up in person on Dec. 7. The Youth Board overrode the recommendation of its own subcommittee and voted 11-9 to kill the contract. Miller then said in a formal statement:

> "I salute the street workers of the Youth Board who, without commissioners' limousines, and at miserable pay, are taking their lives in their hands and working for as long as 30 hours at a stretch in the rain and the snow, in the day and the night, striving to open the minds of this city's kids to a glimmer of humane values. My hope was to show this process in this film, to show how a boy is saved and how ten thousand more might be saved.
>
> "I salute above all the boys and girls themselves, the legions of bewildered kids, roaming the avenues of the world's wealthiest city, looking for a little human warmth, a hope in life, a symbol of some kind in which they might believe and through that belief reconstruct their broken hearts and shattered souls.
>
> "I had wanted to speak for these children and to them. I had wanted to raise up into the light of day the wondrous creativity that lies imprisoned in their frustrated and furious minds. I wanted to turn the face of this city into the mirror which is its youth so that more people might feel the reality that when a boy kills a boy, in truth our great buildings shake and on the hands of every man and woman living here there is a spot of blood. . . . I had hoped to make not merely a drama but a civilizing work of art.
>
> "The majority of the Youth Board has now decided that this picture shall not be made. So be it. Now let us see whether fanaticism can do what it never could do in the history of the world; let it perform a creative act; let it take its club in hand, and write what it has just destroyed."

Charles A. Seipmann, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, said:

> "Apparently all that is required to cause a city agency to abandon a project intended for the benefit of the whole city is a loud noise from pressure groups."

From Combined Artists, Inc., came only word that somehow the film will be made.

4th Negro murdered

(Continued from Page 1)

be murdered by a white man since May in Mississippi.

THE COTTON CURTAIN: Censorship behind the Cotton Curtain is so tight that the story of the murder was five days breaking through. But these facts did emerge, as told by McGarrh to the N. Y. **Post** (12/8):

> "Kimbell came into the station and said he wanted to close out his account. He said I had a smart Negro working for me. I told him to get going. As he left, he said to Clinton, 'I'm going to kill you.' Kimbell drove away but came right back and began shooting at Clinton. I heard [Wilson] in Kimbell's car yell: 'Don't shoot! He aint done nothing!' He jumped out of the car and ran into the station and begged me to hide him. There is one thing I know about this: Clinton didn't have a gun at any time during the quarrel."

McGarrh said he immediately notified Sheriff H. C. Strider. It was Strider's testimony for the defense in the Till case at Sumner, Miss., which influenced the jury to acquit confessed kidnapers J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant of killing the 14-year-old Chicago boy.

MILAM IN CAR? A radio news story on Dec. 10 said Kimbell was driving Milam's car and that Milam was with Kimbell. The killer was driven to Milam's home where Sheriff Strider produced a shirt with a "bullet-hole" and "blood." The sheriff then offered the theory that the cotton-gin owner killed the Negro station attendant "in self defense" after having been "wounded" by Melton. Kimbell's "wound" is admittedly no more than a deep scratch. Strider admits also that he cannot find the gun he says Melton used.

Kimbell has been charged with murder.

Glendora Lions Club president J. R. Flautt told the **Post** the whole community was aroused—"that is, the better class people."

(A well-established fact is that such representatives of "the better class" as bankers, plantation owners, employers, cotton-gin owners and wholesalers publicly decry "violence," but their economic squeeze on Negroes, according to Dr. Theodore R. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., threatens 10,000 Mississippi Delta Negro children with starvation this winter. The Councils collected defense money in the Till case.)

The Lions Club resolution called this latest shooting a "woeful evil" and

> ". . . an outrage against [Clinton Melton], against all the people of Glendora, against the people of Mississippi as well as against the entire human family."

A hearing on the murder scheduled for Dec. 12 was postponed "for 10 days or two weeks," according to Sheriff Strider, to give Kimbell "more time to find a lawyer."

TENSION GROWS: Elsewhere through the South:

- Bill Penix, Hoxie, Ark., school board attorney, charged anti-segregationists with creating a "reign of terror."
- Georgia's Secy. of State declared the NAACP "illegal" because it is not registered as a "domestic or foreign corporation."
- Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) accused the U. S. Supreme Court of "the monstrous crime" of outlawing jimcrow public schools and urged W. C. Councils to organize for "total and complete victory."
- Masked white men "are making terroristic nightly rounds in Clarendon County, S. C., making attacks on colored residents. . . ."

TROOPS URGED: The Pittsburgh **Courier** (12/10) in an open letter urged President Eisenhower to declare

> ". . . a STATE OF CHAOS IN MISSISSIPPI . . . that you SEND UNITED STATES SOLDIERS INTO MISSISSIPPI to protect the civil rights of a MILLION NEGRO CITIZENS . . . who constitute 40% of the state's population. [We] understand that the Dept. of Justice is working in Mississippi; but, in order to give IMMEDIATE PROTECTION TO MISSISSIPPI'S MILLION NEGRO CITIZENS, declare a STATE OF EMERGENCY and move in U. S. TROOPS before it is TOO LATE!"

Resistance, meanwhile, is building up throughout the Negro community. NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins said on Dec. 5 that "the excuse of the Dept. of Justice [that it] has no power to act under present Civil rights laws" makes "new civil rights laws" by the U. S. Congress necessary. He said the proposal to pass a poll tax amendment is not enough.

LABOR'S JOB: NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall told the AFL-CIO merger convention that the labor movement's job was not only

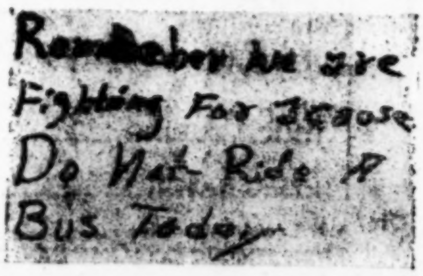
> ". . . seeing to it that the plants involved are . . . organized on a completely non-racial basis [but that] the communities surrounding these plants are run in a democratic fashion, which, today, means according to the law of the land, the absence of racial segregation."

The convention answered with a resolution urging

> ". . . all our affiliated state and local bodies to work with other liberal forces in their communities to facilitate a peaceful and effective transition to an unsegregated American educational system."

It also called on the federal government to act.

In Montgomery, Ala., 5,000 Negroes gathered at the Holt St. Baptist Church to organize a boycott against the city bus line's jimcrow policy.



Remember we are
Fighting For A cause
Do Not Ride A
Bus Today

NEGRO BOYCOTT POSTER

Negroes staged a boycott against the Montgomery, Alabama, City Lines over arrest of a Negro woman on a transportation segregation charge. The poster states: "Remember we are fighting for a cause. Do not ride a bus today."

GBS also means Good Buys at Savings
—See Page 12

EXAMINER FINDS "NO DANGER"

Kwaks ordered deported to Rhee's South Korea

ON DEC. 2 U.S. Immigration hearing officer Joseph J. Mack recommended that the Korean couple Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak be deported to S. Korea. The opinion followed two hearings held last month. Mack said the Kwaks had "failed by credible testimony to establish" that they would be subject to physical persecution in the hands of Syngman Rhee in S. Korea.

Mack did not consider "credible" the documentary evidence presented by the Kwaks' counsel Ira Gollobin. Included in the presentation was an affidavit from Roger Baldwin, board chairman of the Intl. League for the Rights of Man, which said:

> "[The Kwaks'] deportation would doubtless result in criminal proceedings against them."

Emanuel J. Fried, former U.S. Army officer stationed in Korea, asserted that if the Kwaks were sent to S. Korea,

> ". . . they will be stacked away in jail until they rot, or they will be tortured, possibly until they die, or they will be legally murdered after a stacked trial, or they might be found a 'suicide,' or their heads might be bashed in by rifle butts in the hands of the Rhee police, or they may be stabbed in the back at night by a crew of Rhee's young assasins."

"NOT COMMENDABLE": During the hearings to reverse a government deportation order, Gollobin also presented evidence that the Syngman Rhee government was aware of the Kwaks' opposition to the Rhee regime. But Mack's only conclusion from the "'numerous newspaper articles, letters and affidavits" presented by Gollobin was that

> ". . . the system of jurisprudence and measure of punishment in S. Korea is not commendable in the eyes of Americans; however, there is nothing to indicate that the applicants herein, if they were returned, would be singled out for any special consideration."

The Kwaks, who were cited by the U.S. government for their services during World War II, have been fighting for six years against what they call "extradition" to S. Korea. They claim that they are "citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" and ask to be allowed to return to N. Korea.

Last week Gollobin filed exceptions to Mack's findings, which will be reviewed by the Regional Immigration Service Commissioner. He in turn will make a ruling.

In the meantime, **GUARDIAN** readers are urged to send letters and wires of protest to Gen. Swing, Commissioner of Immigration Service, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C.

DIAMOND KIMM
The butcher is waiting

L. A. CASES REOPENED: Los Angeles Immigration officials have set new hearings for Korean-Americans John Juhn and Diamond Kimm as to whether they too face physical danger if they are deported to S. Korea. Juhn's hearing will be held at 9:30 a.m., Friday, Jan. 6, 1956, Rm. 240, Immigration Service headquarters, Rowan Bldg., 458 S. Spring St., L. A. Kimm's hearing will be held a week later same time, same place.

Hundreds of protests against their deportation have been sent to So. California Immigration District Director David Carnahan. Their attorneys plan to present affidavits and documentations to show that they would face certain death in S. Korea because of their opposition to Syngman Rhee's policies, as expressed over many years in the Calif. paper, **Korean Independence.** Protests against their deportation should be sent to Carnahan. Terminal Island, Calif.

Workers, disunite!

ONE other point is worth noting here: In 1899 there were practically no unions in this country. In 1949 about 15 million workers were in the unions. Yet in 1949 factory workers received no greater percentage of the value which they helped create by manufacture than they did in 1899 when there were practically no unions in this country. Thus it can be seen that automation and enterprise are the real cause of increased wages and unions should encourage these factors rather than fight them.

—Economist Lawrence Fertig in the N. Y. **World Telegram and Sun,** Nov. 21, 1955.

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The labor merger

(Continued from Page 1)

N. Y. **Times'** A. H. Raskin asked:

> "Was there any significance in the fact that it was Mr. Meany who went right and Mr. Sligh who went left?"

Meany quickly denied that he would ever play that trump card, repeated his convention declaration that there would be no labor party, that labor would wait until all candidates had been chosen and then back the ones it liked. His peace overture stood intact and meaningful. Sen. William Knowland (R-Cal.), said he did not consider the labor merger a "political menace" and that Meany's thinking on foreign policy was frequently much wiser "than many of our diplomats."

DON'T BE SHY, SLIGH: The N.Y. **Daily News** (12/9) cheered the "live-and-let-live" approach in an editorial entitled, "Good Start, Mr. Meany." It criticized Sligh for being "rather tactlessly coy about Meany's advances" and concluded:

> "Commies and other trouble-makers to the contrary, the interests of workers and employers in our People's Capitalist system, are substantially the same. It would be a great gain, we believe, if the biggest worker and the biggest employer organizations were to go on record as recognizing that fact and resolving to act accordingly from now on."

While Meany was strictly on his own in his talks with the NAM, his line cropped up ominously in the resolutions, all passed unanimously. The foreign policy resolution echoed the State Dept. all down the line though it was harder on the Geneva Spirit than Dulles has been. It attacked the "Moscow-Peiping Axis," hailed the overthrow of "the communist-tinted regime in Guatemala," revived the "liberation" crusade by vowing never to recognize "conquests" by the Kremlin, rejected any interchange of trade union delegations with the socialist world, denounced "the sinister Big Smile."

RED HUNT OK'D: Though criticizing excesses by some Congressional committees, labor went on record hailing the pursuit of communists everywhere and in a resolution on academic freedom, favored the denial of employment

> ". . . as a teacher to anyone who is subject to controls, foreign or domestic which limit his freedom of thought and speech, and which would prevent the teacher from teaching the truth fully in any presentation."

NO TALK OF T-H REPEAL: There were echoes of old war cries in resolutions on the "right-to-work" laws and a pledge to wipe them out in the 18 states where they now exist. Meany won a hand when he said that the

> ". . . legislative trend in the last eight years has been backward and not forward. It is up to us to reverse that trend."

But on Taft-Hartley the convention called only for "elimination of the evils" of the act, once called a "slave-labor law." There was no talk of repeal or a return to the Wagner Act.

If the U.S. labor movement were summed up in the volume of resolutions and the windy oratory of its leaders, the outlook would be bleak. The quality of its rebels is more significant. How and where these will emerge are the crucial questions of the coming years. The CIO returned to the AFL with very little left of the spirit of the Thirties. Its top leaders felt their backs to the wall; for under Walter Reuther the CIO had wavered and its own inner dissensions were threatening to tear it to ribbons.

Reuther came into the AFL meekly and never once during the convention did he challenge Meany's total control. The Teamsters' David Beck dissented behind the scenes, but only when he felt his power threatened. The Transport Workers' Michael Quill staged a minor uprising, but last week was ready to lead his union into the merger. Though he acted out of desperation, fearing raids and seeking whatever bargaining power he could find, Quill gave voice to the worries of many in the labor movement about "the three R's, raiding, racketeering and racism."

"TO SHARE EQUALLY": Racism was the issue that stirred the convention most and forced even Meany to change course a little. The leaders had refused to put teeth into the constitution clauses which piously condemn discrimination. These call now only for all creeds and races "to share equally in the benefits" of unions.

Despite a fighting lobby of unionists, the resolution writers refused to pledge equal rights to membership. The 17 jimcrow unions will stand and others might join. But the rank-and--file feeling was deep; it made the leadership uneasy and apologetic. To soften the pressure, they changed original plans and put two Negroes on their slate as vice-presidents. Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson had prepared a speech without reference to the terror in the Democratic South but, sensing the convention's feeling, at the last minute inserted a paragraph saying he had been

> ". . . shocked and shamed by the recent reports of bloody violence and gross intimidation to prevent people from exercising their right, indeed their duty, to vote in one section of our country."

Emil Mazey, secy.-treas. of the United Auto Workers, dissatisfied with generalized anti-jimcrow resolutions, urged pressure on Congress to place Mississippi under a "Congressional trusteeship."

THE INDEPENDENTS: The merger posed fresh problems for the progressive-led unions, ousted from the CIO in 1949 for bucking machine policies. In the vast and shifting power blocs building up within the new federation, there were dangers of new raids on the independents. Many of these, fighting singly, had their backs to the wall and some had succumbed.

The Fur and Leather Workers were back in the federation, merged with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. The United Packinghouse Workers may soon join up, making a union of half a million. But the fur workers have been "decommunized," their leaders ousted. They will be on probation with every militant and dissident suspected and subject to fresh purges.

Other independents face similar choices. If, after being "decommunized," they too find their way back to the federation, will they be able to buck the machine?

If they can, they may have a unified House of Labor. If not, they may have a unified labor front.

2 NEGRO VP'S OF AFL-CIO

A. Philip Randolph (l.) and Willard S. Townsend

THE REVOLUTION REACHES 1,000 YEARS BACK — II

The people of Tibet— and why they can say 'This is our own'

By Israel Epstein
Special to the Guardian

LHASA, TIBET

THEIR PLACE as one of the nationalities of the People's Republic of China assures the Tibetans of progress. But no one will do their progressing for them. They must move to the future themselves. That is why new schooling and new ideas are so important.

Before we even got on the highway to Lhasa, in the handsome buildings of the Southwest Institute for National Minorities at Changtu, I talked to a few of the thousands of Tibetan students the road has brought to study in inland China.

CHUNDA: One of them was Chunda, a beautiful girl of 20. She is the daughter of Gyabo, a poverty-stricken serf whom I was to meet in far-off Shigatse. At nine, she was already pasturing sheep and goats; at 14 she was making adobe bricks, her father's trade, and at 16 building houses, which in Tibet is largely done by women.

Then the People's Army came. Chunda got to know members of a cultural team which accompanied the troops to perform for the Tibetans. She helped teach them some Shigatse songs and dances. They helped her to study her own language, in which she was illiterate, as well as Chinese. Afterwards she began to work as a salesgirl in the new State Trading Co., and was offered a chance to go to the Institute. A month on horseback brought her to the place where the road then ended. There she got aboard the first motor vehicle she had ever seen. She told me:

> "In the old days, a whole lifetime of work wouldn't have earned me enough to travel even a small part of the distance, and I wouldn't have been free to go anyhow."

Now she paid nothing, and when she got to Chengtu her tuition and living expenses were taken care of.

I saw Chunda at the end of her second year at the Institute, where she is an honor student. She had found respect both as a Tibetan and as a worker, and her serene, confident bearing did not have a whit of the timid humility which I was to see in her toilworn father.

DJASI LOBO: I first saw Djasi Lobo, a whipcord-tough 34-year-old herdsman born to the mountains and the saddle, when he sang for us at the same Institute. Djasi Lobo is being trained for local government.

His fellow nomads will remember, when he goes back home, that he was driven from his clan and its pastures for some small insubordination not long before the liberation. In the past, this would have meant life as an outlaw, to be killed with impunity or kill in self-defense, or to be made into a slave by anyone who caught him.

But the new life opened a different road. Now, though learning came hard to him, Djasi Lobo can read and write and has a great many ideas about how things can be improved. His tremendous vitality will go into rebuilding. He is a happy man.

JUMEI BAJAN
Above, with her medal

DJASI LOBO
Right, with his smile

JUMEI BAJAN: Jumei Bajan, 25, helped to build the highway herself. Lively, with long braids and merry eyes, she comes of peasant stock. When the liberation forces came through her village in 1950, she volunteered to help them. This was because the Kuomintang troops previously stationed there had worked her father to death on **ula** (compulsory unpaid labor service, with the serf providing his own food) despite the fact that he was ill. She told me:

> "We offered to drive yaks which carried supplies for highway construction. The People's Army paid us a silver dollar for each animal for every 20 miles, which had never happened before. They paid for the return trip when we traveled empty as well. We thought there was a mistake and tried to return the money."

On Mt. Chula, where the road passes its highest point at 17,000 feet, Jumei Bajan earned the title of Labor Heroine. She said:

> "There was a blizzard so bad you couldn't see, and a yak dropped his pack over the side. I went after it, though the others said I'd slip and never come back. When I found it I had to dig it out of the snow and my clothes were wet through and frozen stiff."

The Labor Heroine award was announced at a meeting called by the army in February, 1951, by the hereditary princess of De-Ge, Janyang Bomo, now a vice-chairman of a local Tibetan autonomous area. "What did you think when it happened?" I asked. She replied:

> "I thought, I'm only a girl and now I'm honored. This means that Chairman Mao has freed not only all Tibetans but Tibetan women especially."

ALL CLASSES: Though the working people have made the biggest stride, a new world has dawned for all. A young aristocrat at the Institute told me:

> "When I came here, I was shocked because when I got off the truck nobody came to carry my baggage—and I was angry to find I had to make my own bed that night. Now I understand that it's labor that creates everything. At home we considered a blacksmith untouchable because he had a 'dirty trade.' But when the school went on tour to Chungking, I saw workers making machines that can do more than 100 men and I felt they were powerful and noble."

The Tibetan students run their own everyday affairs: eating and living in their own way and practising their own religion. For the first time they are in an atmosphere of national and social equality. They study different subjects in Tibetan and some stay on to become instructors. The majority, however, go back home to work in government, economic construction, education and public health.

THE LEADERS: The problem of obtaining leaders for new development is being solved in many ways and very quickly. There are still Tibetans who joined the Chinese Red Army on its Long March in 1935. But their number is very small; many perished in the Chinese revolution.

There are also old-type Tibetan lay and clerical administrators, in Lhasa and elsewhere. Though they grew up in a totally different society, many have been on long visits to China where their eyes have opened to new prospects. In between, until a few years ago, there was practically nothing. Today the gap is being filled.

The main thing, of course, is that there is help everywhere but no dictation or patronage.

"This is our own." That's the feeling everywhere, in Tibet today. And "their own" is what they have in common with all China's peoples.

THE CASE OF REV. J. A. DELAINE

Will Harriman send a minister back to trigger-happy Carolina?

NEW YORK Gov. Averell Harriman's seeming readiness to return Negro "fugitives" to police in the South has maneuvered him into a political hot-seat. Within recent weeks Harriman has signed extradition warrants sending Willie Morgan to S. Carolina's chaingang and Willie Reid to Florida's. S. Carolina's Gov. Timmerman now wants New York to return J. A. Delaine.

Harriman encountered comparatively little opposition to sending back Morgan and Reid; but J. A. Delaine is a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and one of the Clarendon County, S. C., Negro citizens who originated the school case which led to the U.S. Supreme Court desegregation decision of May 17, 1954. His stand resulted in the burning of his church in Florence County, dismissal of his wife from the school system, and numerous attempts to kill both.

MARKED CAR: The minister shot back at occupants of a car who fired at his home on the night of Oct. 10. He then notified authorities, reminding them that they had never given him and his family the protection he asked. He said he had fired only to "mark" the car, so police could more easily find it. He went to his bishop, D. Ward Nichols, in New York, who assumed personal responsibility for him. S. Carolina, meanwhile, indicted Delaine for "assault with intent to kill" Donald Graham and Hosey Gouse, white occupants of the car he had hoped to mark.

Atty. Gen. Brownell declined to call out the FBI on the case on the grounds that the whereabouts of the fugitive were known. Governor Timmerman asked President Eisenhower "to explain why the Justice Dept. refuses to enforce . . . the fugitive law against a common fugitive when his whereabouts are known." Timmerman is expected to ask Delaine's extradition from New York shortly.

Bishop Nichols, Atty. Richard E. Carey, and a delegation of 25 leading AME clergymen representing 1,175,000 church members, accompanied Rev. Delaine to Dist. Atty. Frank Hogan's office to surrender on Nov. 25. Felony Court Judge Samuel J. Ohringer paroled Delaine in his attorney's custody without bond. He instructed the "fugitive from injustice," as the minister calls himself, to return for a hearing on the South Carolina indictment on Dec. 28.

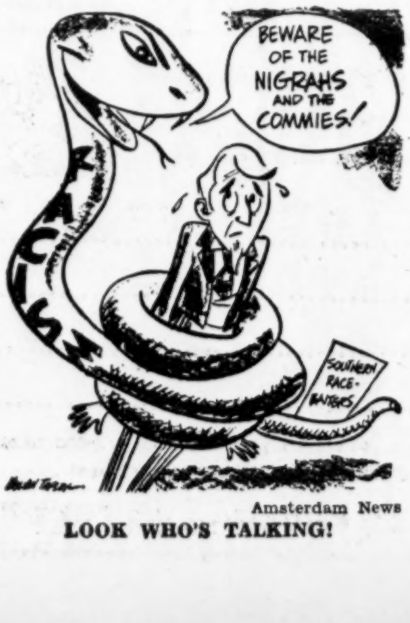
UP TO HARRIMAN: Delaine and his attorney have appealed to Gov. Harriman not to sign the extradition warrant when it comes. Bishop Nichols told newsmen:

> "We are petitioning [Gov. Harriman] and hope he will weigh the human as well as the legal factors involved here and refuse to send this man of God to an almost certain chaingang conviction and death at the hands of his enemies—the White Citizens Councils—which are nothing more nor less than the Ku Klux Klan reborn.
>
> "If the government of the United States can offer asylum to politcal refugees from behind the iron curtain of Soviet Russia and its satellites, then the Rev. Mr. Delaine, as a fugitive from the same brand of terror, should be given protection of a state more friendly to the rights of men regardless of their race or color."

The Baltimore **Afro-American** (12/3) quoted "high sources in the AME [as having threatened] to turn thumbs down on the Democratic party and Gov. Harriman" if he extradites Delaine. Refusal to extradite, said the **Afro-American,** would mean loss of the Dixiecrat South's "support of his bid for Presidential office."

N. Y. VOTE AT STAKE: The **Afro** commented editorially:

> "Apparently in a bid for Southern support at the Democratic Natl. Convention, Gov. Harriman only two weeks ago rejected the pleas of two fugitives for sanctuary in New York. One was returned to the S. Carolina chaingang. The second awaits a sorrowful journey back to Florida's state prison. Mr. Harriman said he had no alternative under the law. We suggest that he had better find one, and quickly, in the case of the Rev. Mr. Delaine, if he wants New York to remain Democratic in 1956."


BEWARE OF THE NIGRAHS AND THE COMMIES!
RACISM
SOUTHERN RACE-BAITERS

Amsterdam News

LOOK WHO'S TALKING!

The N. Y. Liberal party's state committee last week urged Harriman to refuse extradition on grounds that a fair trial would be impossible. George Goodman, Negro program director of N.Y. radio station WLIB, announced Dec. 4 that the home of 33-year-old Bill Fleming, Clarendon County, S. C., NAACP exec. committee member and Mr. Delaine's nephew, had been fired on for the second time in two months from passing cars. Fleming was quoted:

> "We [the NAACP] have been singled out. If they can get rid of us, they can whip the others into line. They're trying to run us out of town, so they can put fright into others. I don't plan to leave. I'm going to stick it out."

THREE D's: Station WLIB, Goodman said, had opened the "D. D. D." campaign of letters, wires and postcards to Gov. Harriman in Albany: "Don't Desert Delaine!"

The N. Y. **Times** reported (12/4) that a law granting Harriman "broader authority to extradite prisoners who are fugitives from other states" was being contemplated. Extradition is permitted now only if the alleged crime is considered a crime in New York. The proposed law would give Harriman no alternative but to return to S. Carolina a fugitive like Delaine.

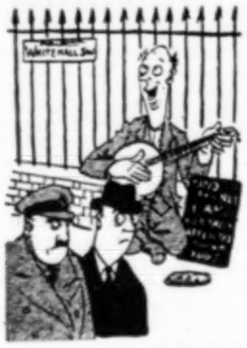
Last week in New York, Jackie Robinson and Roy Campanella, Negro stars of the world champion Brooklyn Dodgers, petitioned Gov. Harriman to permit the Rev. Mr. Delaine to remain in New York.

United Nations

(Continued from Page 1)

> zation which included all of the members from the very beginning."

THE THREE HURDLES: As the GUARDIAN went to press, admission of the 18 still faced hurdles both in the Security Council (where each applicant must win seven favorable votes and escape the veto) and in the Assembly (where a ⅔ majority must approve the Council's recommendations). One hurdle was the Chiang threat to veto Mongolia, and thus torpedo the whole project. This threat was encouraged by Sen. Knowland's strong attack on the admissions. Another was the opposition voiced by some 20 delegations, including that of the U. S., to the admission of Soviet-backed candidates. This opposition, if expressed in negative votes in the Assembly, could deprive these candidates of the necessary ⅔ majority. Still another was Soviet fear and suspicion of just such a double-cross.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"I've got an H-bomb,
"You've got an H-bomb,
"All God's chillun got H-bombs!"

These difficulties turned the Security Council's first all-day meeting on the issue largely into a wrangle between the West and the U. S. S. R. over voting procedure. The U. S. S. R. demanded a procedure assuring ironclad guarantees that all 18 countries or none would pass both the Council and the Assembly. The Western nations favoring the admissions proposed a procedure which appeared to offer such guarantees in the Council but not in the Assembly. But they failed even to inform the Soviet delegation of their plan beforehand. This did not—as the U. S. S. R.'s Sobolev pointed out—contribute to mutual confidence. A Soviet threat to veto the Western resolution brought a hasty three-day postponement of debate—an interval during which it was hoped an agreed procedure could be worked out. But time was short since the session was to end in a matter of days. If the issue was not settled by then, year-end changes in the Security Council membership would make approval of Soviet-backed candidates in the Council virtually impossible. The result would be that the whole project would be shelved indefinitely.

THE REASONS WHY: The Assembly and Council debate focused attention on (1) the UN's giving for six years the functions and trappings of a great power to a delegation (Chiang) which represents nothing, and (2) on U. S. isolation from the main currents of international affairs. Not only was the U. S. among the tiny minority opposing universality, but it was virtually alone in supporting the Cuban and Chiang proposals for admitting Rhee's S. Korea and Diem's S. Viet Nam. Repeated U. S. statements about S. Viet Nam's alleged right to UN membership caused India to point out sharply that the U. S. had declared publicly at the 1954 Geneva Conference (which ended the Indo-China War) that it would "do nothing" to impair the armistice terms. India said:

> "The letter and spirit of the Armistice was that the line of division drawn in the territory known as Viet Nam is a line for military purposes and it was expressly stated many times that the unity of that country is to be established by means of free elections."

The U. S. stand, blandly repeated by U. S. delegate Lodge, has far-reaching implications since the U. S.-sponsored Diem government has so far refused to begin negotiations (which should have begun last summer) with Ho Chi Minh's government for elections in June, 1956. Failure to hold the elections could have explosive repercussions in an already tense Far East situation.

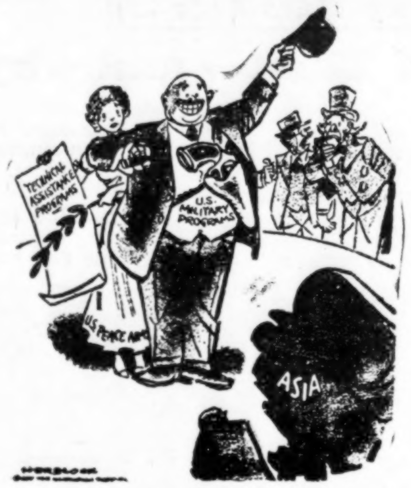
QUESTION OF ARMS: For if world tensions have relaxed since last July, international problems, including Far East problems of a certain immediacy, remain to be solved; the arms race is accelerating, and disarmament efforts have suffered major setbacks. World armaments today are 30 to 40 times greater than when UN began its search for disarmament, as India's Menon pointed out. And disarmament efforts have—in the Soviet view—been set back 10 years.

Since 1946 the West has refused to agree to outlaw nuclear warfare on the ground that such a move would leave the U. S. S. R. dominant in conventional arms. Since last May, when the U. S. S. R. accepted Western proposals for reducing conventional arms to agreed levels and for making the ban on nuclear bombs the last step in the disarmament process, the West has developed a new "reason" to disagree: alleged impossibility of detecting and controlling nuclear weapons. Canada, which last year worked to achieve a measure of Assembly agreement on further disarmament steps, this year candidly admitted that the West no longer believes disarmament or prohibition of nuclear weapons feasible.

THE SPECTER OF WAR: Perhaps the sharpest attack on this Western position came from India which castigated "the projection of the great apparatus of war against the colonial peoples" and the drawing of weaker nations into military blocs and alliances; the shift from the objective of disarmament to that of "alerting" people to attack; the failure to ban nuclear weapons; the UN sub-committee's disregard of Assembly directions. Similar strictures came from the U. S. S. R. And, as the debate neared its close, the future of UN disarmament efforts remained in doubt. As India pointed out:

> "The Assembly can pass any resolution, by a narrow or substantial majority, and if there is not agreement between the two sides, such a resolution will belong to the category of paper decisions."

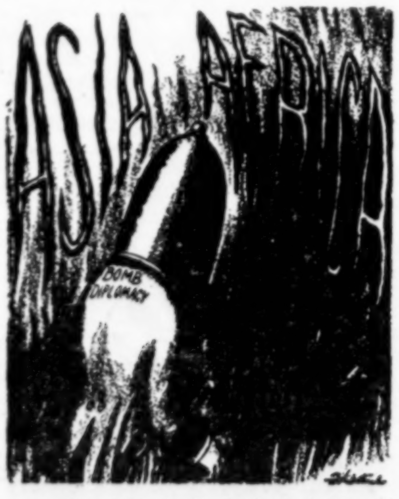
The vulnerability of the Western stand on disarmament reportedly will be one of the questions discussed during British Prime Minister Eden's visit with President Eisenhower late next month. These projected talks reflect mounting Anglo-American anxiety over the deterioration of the West's so-called "positions of strength" since Geneva, and especially over the developing Soviet economic and cultural challenge in Asia and the Middle East. Both the British and American press called for "bolder" initiative, "broadening" of policy and reappraisal. But there were no new ideas or approaches.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Shouldn't the bodyguard stay more in the background?"

DEAD END AHEAD: "If they [U. S. and Britain] are not in disagreement, they also are rather shy of clearcut solutions of the post-Geneva problems," wrote the N. Y. **Times** (12/16). Actually, in the UN, the U. S. and Britain have been on opposite sides of the fence on the new membership question and the Philippines-Yugoslav contest for the traditional E. European seat on the Security Council (still deadlocked after a record 29 ballots). But on major policy issues, London has shown no more initiative than Washington to find a way out of the dead end where Western policies are heading. But Eden is expected to convey to the President Britain's concern over the growing sentiment for German neutrality on the continent since the Foreign Ministers Conference and over the Soviet economic challenge. **The Journal of Commerce** reported from London (12/7):



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch

GETTING NOWHERE FAST

> "British experts warn against any tendency to underestimate Soviet capabilities in the foreign aid and trade field. . . . It is stressed here that the Soviet drive will pick up momentum in 1956 when the new integrated five-year plans of the Soviet bloc countries get started simultaneously for the first time. They are expected to provide substantially increased quotas of goods for export."

POLITICS AND AID: The Western answer to this challenge remained, as Secy. Dulles emphasized in a Chicago speech, one of "massive deterrents"—more armaments, pacts, with some foreign "economic aid" grafted on top. Liberals pleading for a big foreign aid program without political strings for recipient countries failed to understand that such a program is impossible so long as the massive armament policy remains. Only Walter Lippmann (12/6) has suggested that the U. S. must "cultivate and come to terms" with the "tendency towards neutralism" round the world. Said Lippmann:

> "The Soviet Union will have the better of us if the highest aim of our policy continues to be the prevention of neutralism. For what the Soviet Union has to offer is not only competition with us in the supply of capital—but also no call on their part for an alignment with their military system."

God wouldn't drop it

WASHINGTON, Nov. 9—(AP)—An Air Force doctor said today an atomic disaster would confront physicians with the "onerous task of playing God and deciding whom to save."

Col. Karl H. Houghton of Kirtland Air Force Base, New Mexico, told a convention of military surgeons:

"You won't have sufficient drugs or surgical materials to handle all the casualties and will have to decide rapidly and without hesitation who will receive this perhaps life-saving material.

"This is not always simple. Do you save the banker or the truck driver? . . ."

—Los Angeles Times, Nov. 10

THE ICC RULING

What the outlawing of jimcrow travel means to the South

THE INTERSTATE Commerce Commission in two separate decisions on Nov. 25 ruled that by next Jan. 10 railroads and busses crossing state lines must "abstain from practicing the undue and unreasonable prejudice and disadvantage found to exist" in jimcrow travel.

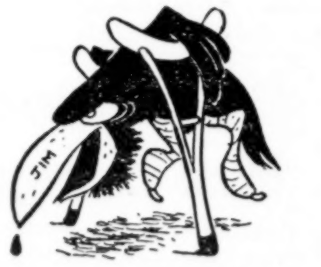
Seventeen Negroes — including the GUARDIAN's Eugene Gordon—and one white person, acting through NAACP attorneys Robert L. Carter and Thurgood Marshall, were the complainants. Defendants were 13 railroads, the Union News Co. (operating two public lunchrooms under lease in the Richmond, Va., railroad stations), and the Carolina Coach Co. The decision also covered public waiting rooms in railroad and bus terminals but excluded Union News as outside ICC jurisdiction.

The complainants documented discrimination suffered by Negro passengers. Their counsel at a prehearing conference declared the sole issue was whether segregation itself was lawful and said they would not raise the question whether accommodations furnished Negro and white were "equal."

JIMCROW BY ANY NAME: The Illinois Central's defense was typical of the lines which answered the charges in detail. It explained that at Chicago and New Orleans its passengers were assigned to cars "bearing numbers which correspond to the numbers of the coaches." This system assigns Negroes "to the front cars first and Caucasian passengers to the rear cars first." However, these railroads' only purpose was "to follow the desire of the greatest number of our passengers [who wish] to be together," with no intention to jimcrow anybody.

The ICC said in its decision:

> "The evidence as a whole indicates that the Illinois Central designates and assigns specific coaches for the occupancy of Negro passengers and that the tendency of its policy, as its principal witness conceded, is to maintain a certain separation of the races. . . ."



FACE CHANGING: Commenting on defiant Southern reaction, the Pittsburgh **Courier** (12/10) said that

> ". . . you would think that these legally fixed, fast and frozen relationships between whites and colored had existed for ages, whereas there are people living who can remember when there was no jimcrowism in public transportation."

The Baltimore **Afro-American** thought the ICC order removing jimcrow signs in waiting rooms, rest rooms and other terminal facilities more significant than its prohibition of segregation in interstate travel, because

> ". . . it will effect a quicker and more apparent change in the face of the South than even the school and park court decisions . . . it would be silly and impossible for the states which indicated defiance to maintain segregated facilities for intrastate passengers . . . while a passenger of the same color traveling from New York to Norfolk rides unrestricted. . . ."

NAACP counsel Carter said the ruling would change "the face of the South" by eliminating "white" and "colored" signs which "now disfigure transportation facilities in that region."

THERE IS NO ROOM FOR THE COLD WAR IN ASIA

The way out of the Middle East crisis: Big Four negotiations

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

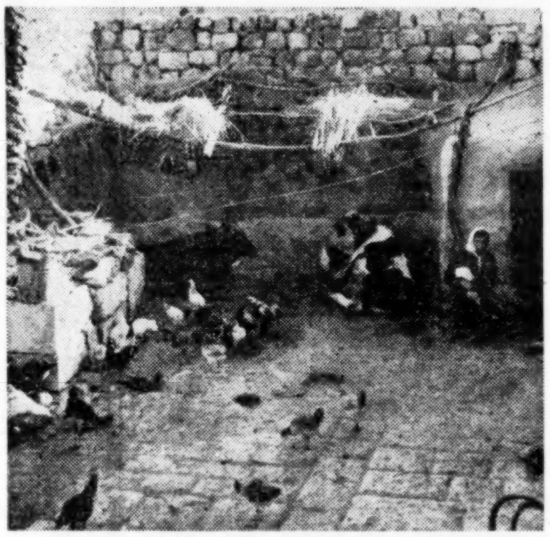
MOST of the foreign correspondents who arrived here within the course of the past month to cover, as one of them said, "the war that ain't," have left by now or are preparing to do so. The general consensus—both in newspaper and diplomatic circles—is that there will be no war, or at least no war now. **Now**, of course, may mean many things, but even conservative estimates put **now** at a minimum of six months. In many ways it will be an interesting six months, but it will also be rather painful and ugly, for it will certainly be six months of horse-trading.

Israel's reaction to the Eden Plan has been almost as violent (although the language used to the West is always much more moderate) as her reaction to the Czechoslovak-Egyptian arms agreement. In an official reply, Premier Ben Gurion accused Britain of preparing a Middle East Munich, with Israel constituting the price of appeasement. In an interview in the London **Observer**, Nov. 20, Ben Gurion charged Britain and Russia with "pursuing like policies" in the Middle East, "both of which might lead to the destruction of Israel." In other words, with both East and West wooing the Arabs, Israel has become expendable, he implied.

POWER CLASH: If Ben Gurion separates the U.S. from the Western "appeasers" and differentiates sharply between British and American Middle Eastern policy, this is the reason: It is not because of the real clash of forces in the Western camp—by virtue of which, ever since the end of World War II, America has tried to replace Britain as the foremost power in the Middle East—but rather because Israel remains politically tied to and financially dependent on the U.S.

With an election year just around the corner in the U.S., when politicians of both parties will vie for the "Jewish vote," Israel can still hope for some support and concessions from the U.S. However, in the long run, the position remains untenable, and no amount of pious statements made by candidates across the Atlantic will solve the Middle Eastern riddle or render Israel's future and the peace of the region more secure.

A CONTRADICTION: What the public, and especially the Jewish public, both here and abroad, often fails to understand is that the Arab-Israel conflict, which was very largely not of local making, cannot be solved on a local level—at least not so long as the parties to the conflict are not free agents. When Ben Gurion states, as he did in the **Observer**, that he is willing to listen to any proposals the Arabs may make in direct talks, not excluding border changes, as long as concessions are mutual and "not dictated by foreign governments," it is a point well taken.



IN 2,000 YEARS NOT MUCH HAS CHANGED

In a scene reminiscent of the birth of the Nazarene, an Arab mother sits outside her poor home in Jerusalem, holding her baby.

However, the very meaning of this statement is contradicted by his Government's continued frantic efforts toward an American-Israel security treaty. This would place Israel more than ever in the American camp and would let her appear, not only in the eyes of the Arabs, but of the entire world, as America's gendarme in the Middle East.

"COOLING OFF" PERIOD: The U.S., of course, is none too eager to enter into such an alliance and any hopes which may be held out are presumably pre-election maneuvers. The "no war now" order, in effect, is said to have come mainly from U.S. government circles. These circles consider it desirable to allow for a "cooling off" period of at least six months, in which it is hoped to woo Egypt back from the Eastern bloc. If this should prove impossible through either bribes, threats or even a coup d'état against the Nasser regime (which can hardly be said to rest on a broad popular basis), it is feared here that American policy, after some time, may indeed favor a "local war." This would be not only tragic to Israelis and Arabs alike, but would, whatever the outcome, widen the gulf between the two peoples almost beyond repair.

For in the long run, if Israel is to live, it must live with the Arabs. No people, and especially not so small a nation as this, can for long survive in the poisoned atmosphere of all-surrounding hatred, dependent on hand-outs from far away.

WHAT TO DO: The policy pursued by the Ben Gurion and Sharett governments has over the past seven years led to ever-increasing isolation. Today, Israel has no friend at court in either Europe or Asia, and the U.S. is a most doubtful friend indeed. Further identification with Washington offers no solution. The only possible outcome is war, which would be catastrophic not for America but for Israel.

Progressive Jewry the world over would perform a real service if it would appeal, in all modesty but with great firmness, to the Big Powers to begin to negotiate a settlement of the entire Middle East, where co-existence has become a crying need.

The Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies are not interested in the destruction of Israel. They are interested in the destruction of those military bases with which the West has tried to encircle them—many of which are in the Middle East. It is not in the interest of the Jewish people to be associated with a policy of containment, nor to be used as a pawn in the West's anti-Soviet maneuvers in this part of the world. There is no more room for the Cold War here than there was in Europe.

FACTSHEET ON THE CRISIS

The publication **Jewish Life** has published a four-page fact-sheet entitled "Israel-Arab Crisis: The Way Out." It contains excellent background material, presents the Israeli and Egyptian positions and offers suggestions for a solution. Copies are 5c each up to 25; 3c each up to 100, and $2 per hundred, plus postage. Order from **Jewish Life, 22 E. 17th St., Rm. 601, New York 3, N. Y.**

It's still not too late to order your Guardian Holiday Greeting Cards, and the many other wonderful Buying Service items. See page 12.

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NEW YORK

Susie's Daddy Can Also Read.
He said, "Tops on my list this year are":
- Andre Stil's novels "The Water Tower" and "A Gun Is Unloaded," $3 ea.
- Rockwell Kent's autobiography, "It's Me O Lord," $10.
- "Empire of Oil," by Harvey O'Connor, $5.
- "Einstein, a Pictorial Biography," by William Cahn, $1.50 paper, $3 cloth.
- "The Last Supper," by Howard Fast, $2 paper, $3 cloth.
- "The Education of John Reed," selected writings, $1.75 paper, $3 cloth.
- "Labor's Story Untold," by Boyer and Morais, $2.50 paper, $1.75 cloth.
- "Paris to Peking," by Joseph Starobin, $3.75.

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PAYING a visit to the House of Commons, Cedric Belfrage was approached in the lobby by two young women who said: "Aren't you the editor of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN? We're readers of it—just came in because we're interested in the campaign against capital punishment."

In Paris, a few weeks ago, two separate pairs of GUARDIAN readers introduced themselves to the Belfrages outside the meeting to protest the Emmett Till lynching.

FREEDOM and the ARTS

The "cold war" harassment of men and women of the arts by congressional "investigating" committees has reached new levels with the questioning of thirty-odd newspaper people in New York last week by the Eastland Committee. It is appropriate at this time for Americans to remember the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered at the dedication of the Museum of Modern Art in New York on May 10, 1939:

"Only where men are free can the arts flourish and the civilization of national culture reach full flower.

"The arts cannot thrive except where men are free to be themselves and to be in charge of the discipline of their own energies and ardors. The conditions for democracy and for art are one and the same. What we call liberty in politics results in freedom in the arts. There can be no vitality in the works gathered in a museum unless there exists the right of spontaneous life in the society in which the arts are nourished.

"A world turned into a stereotype, a society converted into a regiment, a life translated into a routine, make it difficult for either art or artists to survive. Crush individuality in society and you crush art as well. Nourish the conditions of a free life and you nourish the arts too.

"In encouraging the creation and enjoyment of beautiful things we are furthering democracy itself."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

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the SPECTATOR

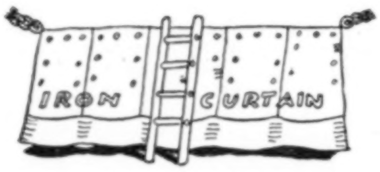
Show biz hypo

NOT SINCE BARNUM imported Jenny Lind, "The Swedish Nightingale," has this country gone so ga-ga over a visiting artist as it has this fall over, first, Emil Gilels, pianist, and now David Oistrakh, violinist, both from the Soviet Union.

Variety called the two "the biggest hypo to the concert biz in 50 years" (and, by the way, they have been a real hypo to the GUARDIAN Buying Service's record biz, too, so much in demand are their recordings in every corner of the country.)

Gilels, a youthful 39 with unruly red hair, has finished his first concerts in the U. S. and is now touring Mexico. The longest memories could not recall a demand for seats such as he caused in New York. Critics and audiences alike cheered in the aisles and shouted bravos. Philadelphia, which heard him first, accorded him "the greatest ovation ever given a contemporary pianist at the Academy of Music," wrote critic J. Cartin McKinney in the **Daily News**, and explained that "he speaks to the people with his playing, and his heroic power of attack is both thrilling and inspiring." The **Inquirer** critic, Edwin H. Schloss, found him "flawless and breath-taking" and reported "a hurricane of applause. . . ."

CRITICS' HOLIDAY: In New York the Hearst paper found him "phenomenal." The Scripps-Howard critic reported people "applauding as if a new chapter had opened in world history." Three different **Times** critics had a go at him. The top man, Howard Taubman, pulled out almost all the stops: "He can make the piano sing and he can cause it to thunder; it bends to his will. . . ." Another reported applause "with the sound of a thunderous rain." The third, not ready to melt altogether, nevertheless conceded that "when he used a rubato, or took a long ritard, it was for a valid emotional reason."



Only the **Tribune** man in New York got starchy, however, and that was mainly at the "noisy" Tchaikowsky B-flat minor Concerto rather than at the artist, whose "leggiero and pearly nonlegato betrayed a pianist of considerable technique and keyboard wisdom." In later reviews, he too, warmed up.

The Boston **Post** critic professed to discover "Stakhanovite methods" in Gilels' playing and found the fact that the auditorium was filled "a most unusual occurrence." His colleague on the **Globe**, however, witnessed "unassailable keyboard mastery" and "truly stupendous talent." He called the Boston debut "one of the most exciting within memory."

After Gilels had played for nearly a month in the East, it was divulged by Victor Seroff in the **Saturday Review** that he had played the Philadelphia and New York concerts with plasters and collodion (new skin) on his finger tips, which were so cracked that "to play in such a condition would have left the ivories covered with blood." Gilels thought it was the water. "No, no," said Mrs. Gilels, "it's nerves."

FOR DAVID OISTRAKH there were hardly enough superlatives left. The **World-Telegram & Sun's** Louis Biancolli, said he had "few equals among living violinists and no superiors." As for his rendition of Tartini's "Devil's Trill" (GUARDIAN record No. 11) "Mr. Oistrakh's fantastic fingers gave the devil his due without overlooking Tartini." The Philadelphia **Inquirer's** Edwin Schloss said it all in these words:

> "Oistrakh played a 1719 Stradivarius, said to belong to the Russian State collection. And it seems reasonably safe to speculate that in the more than 200 years since this priceless instrument left the workshop in Cremona, no finer fiddler has ever drawn a bow across strings."

In Minneapolis, the **Tribune** critic found it "difficult to admire more the absolutely note-perfect agility and clarity of his left hand or the masterly bowing of the right."

PROGRAM NOTE: It is a nice and comforting thought to credit the warm and overwhelming reception of Gilels and Oistrakh to a cultural zest in our country which has withstood all efforts to drive it down to the comic-book level. But **Variety**, that non-political chronicler of what moves U. S. audiences, offers another reason, just as comforting:

> ". . . a great undercurrent of sympathy for better understanding between Russian and American. Attending these concerts has been a way of showing it without risking the accusation of being subversive."

—THE SPECTATOR

Out of the stream

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

On Oct. 19, 1955, Dr. Barrows Dunham, formerly professor of philosophy and chairman of the Dept. of Philosophy at Temple University, was acquitted by Federal Judge McGarraghy of charges of contempt of Congress, when he refused to answer questions of an inquisitorial committee.

The Philadelphia branch of the ACLU subsequently wrote to Dr. Robert L. Johnson, president of Temple University, urging that the trustees accordingly reconsider their dismissal of Dr. Dunham. Dr. Johnson replied to ACLU that nothing had occurred to warrant the trustees changing their decision in the Dunham case.

News item in the Philadelphia **Bulletin**, p. 14, Nov. 16, 1955: In an address to the American Iron & Steel Institute, Dr. Johnson said:

"The most practical education for leadership is to expose the student to the serious thinking and the great cultural treasures of our Western inheritance so that the student may feel himself in the stream of ideas and events."

Name Withheld

CALENDAR

Chicago

Starts **FRI., DEC. 23.** American Premiere **"BORIS GODUNOV,"** gorgeous new Soviet Film Classic at regular prices. **CINEMA ANNEX,** 3210 W. Madison St. Nr. Kedzie.

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JEROME DAVIS, international observer, peace advocate, author: "Capitalism & Its Culture," "Peace, War & You," arrives from Orient via Hong Kong, Manila, Honolulu, to speak FRI., JAN. 6, 8 p.m., on "My Recent Months in Japan: Report from the Rim of Asia." Adm. $1. **UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM,** 2936 W. 8th St.

New Haven, Conn.

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY. Anne Braden speaks on Louisville, Ky. sedition case. Also Nora Stanton Barney, outstanding architect and fighter for civil rights. Sun., Dec. 18, 3 p.m., Hotel Garde, New Haven. Auspices: Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights.

New York

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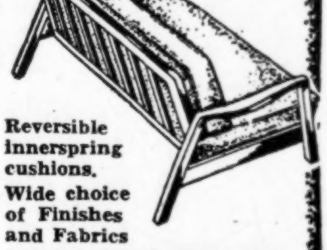

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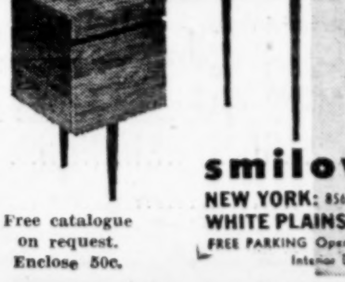

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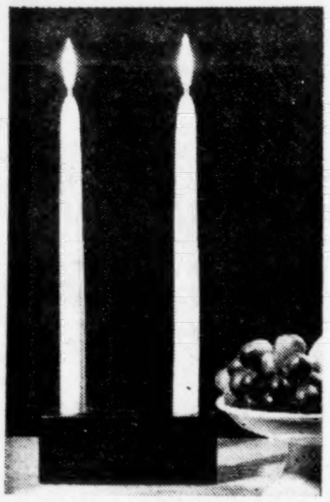

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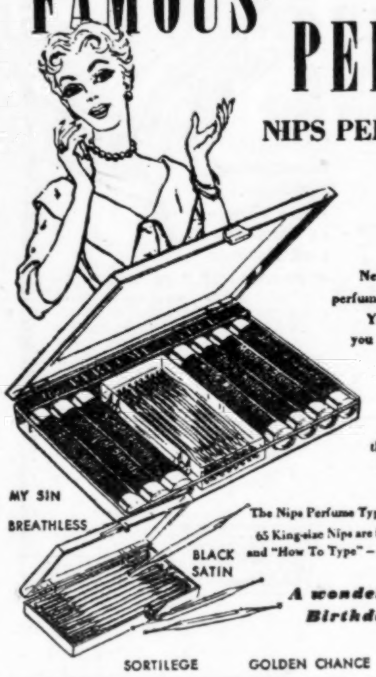

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David Oistrakh — Emil Gilels

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6.	Oistrakh	Prokofieff Sonata, Op. 80 (also: Franck Violin Sonata-Oistrakh).
7.	Oistrakh	Mozart Violin Concerto in D, K271A.
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12.	Gilels	Mendelssohn Piano Concerto No. 1 (also: Beethoven Piano Sonata in C, Op. 2, No. 3).
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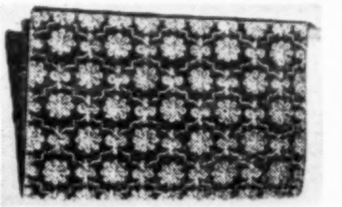

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